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DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS AND STATISTICAL ISSUES

Report by the secretariat

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PART I. DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS AND ISSUES

A. INTRODUCTION

1. The Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) region, together with other industrialized regions of the world, has travelled the longest way along the path of demographic transition, recently reaching some of the lowest levels of mortality and fertility ever recorded. In 1990, most ECE countries, with the exception of a few small countries along Europe's southern and south-eastern rim, had fertility levels at or below replacement level (approximately 2.1 children per woman), and in some instances considerably below it. Through much of the western part of Europe and North America survival has reached levels that only two to three decades ago might have been considered unattainable, while mortality levels in the eastern part of Europe still have considerable room for improvement. In recent years these generally low mortality and fertility levels have been accompanied in many ECE countries by relatively high levels of international migration, especially those forms of migration that are difficult to regulate such as refugee and asylum seeker movements and illegal migration.

2. Prevailing fertility and mortality rates, in combination with their historical long-term declines and associated shifts in the population's age structure, are causing sluggish population growth and rapid population ageing. While in many ECE countries in 1990 intrinsic growth rates are negative, actual growth rates remain positive even though they are rapidly approaching zero. In some countries growth rates are positive only because of relatively young age structures (Greece and Spain), while in others they are the result of immigration (Germany). There are a small but growing number of countries that are actually shrinking in total population size as a result of low fertility and/or emigration (Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania). At the same time, all ECE countries are undergoing long-term population ageing, which as a result of past fluctuations in fertility and mortality, is subject to temporary reversals in some countries.

3. Many countries of the region are beginning to come to terms with the long-term prospect of population decline and continuing, progressive population ageing. These changes are occurring precisely at the time when international migration is increasingly being perceived by policy makers and politicians, especially outside the region, as a solution to the "population problems" of west European and other industrialized countries. This solution, however, is being questioned by many west European countries,, which are prime destinations for migrants from central and eastern Europe and the South. At the same time, many of these countries are indifferent to slow growth and population ageing. They do not appear to want to slow down, halt or reverse these trends by stimulating fertility. On the other hand, in some central and east European countries, especially where these trends are more advanced than elsewhere, Governments appear determined to make concerted efforts to alter the demographic trends they clearly perceive as negative. In these countries, the prime example of which is Hungary, there is no ambivalence about adopting pronatalist policy objectives and implementing policies believed to be effective in meeting these objectives.

4. The demographic changes over the past three to four decades have been part and parcel of broader social changes in Europe, which in some countries have resulted in a post-industrial, individualistic society. One aspect of

these changes has been a major shift in attitudes and behaviour, including those related to bearing and rearing children, marriage and cohabitation, divorce and the very concept of family. This shift has been far more pervasive in northern and western European countries and in North America than elsewhere. Another aspect of these changes has been the unprecedented emancipation of women, the depth and breadth of which can be only partially described by major gains in their educational attainment, rapid increases in the feminization of the labour force, and growing participation of women in family decision making, and in the business community and Governments. Yet another aspect of the social changes in question is the multiplication and adaptation of social and related public policies designed not only to improve the welfare of different population groups by accommodating their varying behaviours and ever-changing needs, but also to influence certain demographic processes. The population-related policies currently in place across Europe and to a lesser extent in North America are more comprehensive and generous than those in any other major region of the world, and affect men and women in notably different ways.

5. Public policies influencing and/or accommodating population trends are currently being reassessed and reformulated throughout much of the ECE region. The reasons for this state of flux are numerous, but the principal macro-level causes are related to political, economic and institutional change sweeping Europe. In central and eastern Europe, ongoing policy changes are primarily a consequence of the disappearance of communist regimes, the concomitant dissolution of multiethnic States and the momentous transformation to democracy and market economies. In western Europe, the change is partly in response to the impetus given by the Maastricht Treaty to further integration within the European Union and, beyond it, within the European Economic Area. In addition, Governments are actively seeking, with greater or lesser success, instruments that can meet their objectives to assist the family, control migration, enhance integration of foreigners and accommodate population ageing. Moreover, many Governments are making concerted efforts towards greater gender equality and improved status and conditions of women, but many countries in the region have a long way to go before those objectives can be attained. Some of these efforts are independent of the political and institutional change alluded to above and are driven more by changes in values, attitudes, needs, and behaviours, changes that are associated with dramatic demographic shifts and diverse family structures.

6. This document is primarily concerned with trends and patterns between 1950 and 1990 in the fields of fertility, family formation and dissolution, and families of people in their reproductive years; population ageing, the elderly and the changing families of elderly people; and international migration, foreign populations, refugees and internally displaced persons. The document also examines the principal social and economic policies influencing and/or accommodating the demographic changes underway. Moreover, it selectively draws on the recommendations of the European Population Conference (23-26 March 1993, Geneva) in order to highlight the need for further improvements in these policies that focus on special population groups, and women in particular.

B. FERTILITY, UNION FORMATION AND DISSOLUTION AND THE FAMILY

1. Trends and patterns

(a) Fertility

7. The low fertility levels of the early 1990s mark the latest stage in the long-term fertility decline that spread through Europe and North America over the past two centuries. This stage has been called "the second demographic transition" by those who perceived a qualitative difference between this latest stage of the fertility decline, particularly in Europe and earlier stages (van de Kaa, 1987). The so-called "second demographic transition" began in western and north European countries around 1965 with national period total fertility rates (TFRs) descending towards sub-replacement levels and reaching those levels during the decade beginning in the middle 1970s (Cliquet, 1991, pp. 76-79). In the countries of southern Europe, the decline started around 1975 and proceeded faster, while in much of central and eastern Europe no such distinct phase was observed. In most central and east European countries, fertility continued to fall through the mid-1960s, after which time some fluctuations followed. Some scholars (Frejka, 1980; Klinger, 1987) have concluded that temporary successes of pronatalist policies were among the causes of these fertility fluctuations.

8. Through the late 1980s and into the early 1990s, fertility remained unchanged in some countries, continued to decline in others, and began to increase in yet others. The result is unprecedentedly low TFRs in Italy and Spain (1.26 and 1.28 in 1991), intermediate low levels in countries such as Hungary and Switzerland (1.61 and 1.86) and replacement levels in Ireland and Sweden (2.18 and 2.11). The overall picture for Europe is one of national fertility rates bounded on either side by the levels observed in Italy and Sweden. The exceptions include, among others, two predominantly Muslim countries at Europe's southern edge--Albania and Azerbaijan (3.03 and 2.69 in 1990) and the predominantly Christian neighbour of the latter country--Armenia (2.84). 1/

9. The recent fertility decline has been brought about by a reduction in the proportions of third and higher order births and, in some countries, by the increase in the prevalence of childlessness. Information given by Roussel (1993), who studied cohorts of women born in or around 1935, 1945 and 1955 in several European countries, indicates declines in all countries he examined in the proportion of women with three or more children. 2/ Declines were largest in the former Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) and Netherlands (on the order of 45-50%) and smallest in the former Czechoslovakia and Hungary (20% and 13%, respectively).

10. Associated in some countries with the decrease in the proportion of women bearing three children, is an increase in the proportion of women who remain childless. In England , Wales, the former FRG and Netherlands--the proportion of childless women roughly doubled to about 20% (the doubling in England and Wales and Netherlands occurred between 1945 and 1955 cohorts.) This increase is the result of a significant shift in human reproductive behaviour, which could be attributable to changing attitudes, changing reproductive opportunities or some combination of both. In other countries, according to Roussel, the proportion childless remained largely fixed at around 10%. In Italy, the

proportion childless among couples marrying in 1930 and 1955 was around 13% and 12%, respectively (Palomba, forthcoming).

11. The fertility decline has also been associated with a change in the timing of childbearing in most of the region. In the majority of west, north and south European countries, there was a clear trend toward later childbearing that began around 1970. In all countries of western and northern Europe, except Austria, Belgium and Ireland, the mean age of women at birth rose between 1970 and 1990 (United Nations, 1992; Haug, 1993). 3/ In south European countries (except the former Yugoslavia and possibly Albania, two countries for which data are not available), the increase began around 1980. At approximately the same time, an increase was also observed in the former GDR and Hungary, while in other central and east European countries, including the western republics of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for which data are available (Estonia and Latvia), the mean age of childbearing remained more or less fixed at low and intermediate levels.

12. The low levels of fertility have been achieved in the West primarily as a result of spreading contraception, which historically amounted to the use of traditional, including folk methods of conception control. The traditional methods have been rapidly replaced since the 1960 by a variety of modern contraceptives, including the pill as the most prominent one. Induced abortion has been used, both before and after it became legal in practically all countries, as a response to contraceptive failure rather than as the primary means of fertility regulation. On the other hand, in the East, its was a combination of traditional methods and ample resort to induced abortion that made the low fertility possible. Excessive reliance on these two means of fertility regulation continue in this part of the region, resulting in abortion rates that are among the highest in the world. Although the majority of abortions are conducted legally, the deteriorating conditions in the health sector lead to post-abortion complications and inferior reproductive health of women. The challenge faced by countries with economies in transition is to launch and effectively complete a transition from traditional methods cum induced abortion to a widespread use of modern contraceptives (Klijzing, 1992).

13. Another challenge faced by many of these countries is a steep declines in the rates and numbers of marriages and births, which appear to have been occasioned by deteriorating social and economic conditions and the deepening lack of confidence in the ability of governments to rapidly deliver improvements in living standards. These declines have been coupled in many countries by increases in the rates and numbers of deaths, which in combination with the falling rates and numbers of births have resulted in negative rates of natural increase and population decline, United Nations information available as of 1 April 1994, which include the latest available vital statistics data, indicate, for example, that Croatia, the former GDR and Ukraine experienced negative natural increase in 1992 and that in 1993 Bulgaria, Hungary, Latvia, Romania also had negative natural increase. Only a few years ago all of these countries, except Hungary, had an excess of the number of births over the number of deaths.

(b) Union formation and dissolution

14. The fertility change in much of the ECE region over the past 25 to 30 years occurred concurrently with truly unprecedented shifts in union formation

and dissolution, trends that provide even more evidence of rapidly changing attitudes and behaviour among men and women of Europe and North America. First and foremost, the decline in first marriages, which began in west and north European subregions in the late 1960s, has spread throughout much of the Continent. In some countries of these subregions the decline has brought total first marriage rates among women to such low levels that their persistence at current levels would lead to only slightly more than one-half of all women ever marrying. 4/ In southern Europe, the decline began around the mid-1970s or later, most notably in Greece, Italy and Spain, and more recently in the former Yugoslavia. In central and eastern Europe, the first country to experience a sustained decline was Hungary (around 1980), followed by Bulgaria (about 1985). In other countries of this subregion, recent declines in first marriage rates scarcely exceed the magnitude of previous fluctuations and the beginning of a downward trend cannot be discerned. Thus, the regime of close-to-universal marriage appears to have survived in some central and east European countries through 1990 and not in others.

15. Most notably in northern and western Europe, the decline in first marriage rates among all women has gone hand in hand with the postponement of entry into first marriages among young women. A gradual decrease in the age at first marriage during the period immediately following the Second World War turned into a rapid increase first in north European countries in approximately 1970 and then in western Europe about five years later (Macura, Adams and Holzer-Zelazewska, 1990). In southern Europe and in one central European country (the former GDR), a slow-to-moderate increase began in approximately 1980. Nowhere else in central and eastern Europe did the postponement of first marriage begin before 1990; in a number of these countries early marriage remained the norm until this year.

16. In many ECE countries, especially those in the north and west European subregions, first marriage rates have receded as a consequence of the expansion in non-marital cohabitation, especially among individuals in the early childbearing years. Fragmentary and often dated evidence suggests that the highest proportions of women in non-marital unions are found in the Nordic countries. In 1981, 45% of women aged 20-24 in Denmark and 44% of women in this age interval in Sweden lived in such unions (Roussel, 1993). In several other north and west European countries, the proportions for this age group were lower. 5/ In southern and eastern Europe, non-marital cohabitation appears to be rare; the proportion of Italian women aged 20-24 in this type of union was 1% in 1983. Evidence deriving from the European Value Surveys conducted in 1990 and occasionally based on a small number of cases, indicates that these proportions have grown during the last ten years. 6/

17. The spread of non-marital cohabitation, which in some European countries appears to have become a partial substitute for marriage, at least temporarily, caused an increase in the proportion of births taking place outside marriage. Thus, in Norway, Denmark, and Sweden in 1989, the proportion of all children born to unmarried women was 36, 46, and 52%, respectively (Haug, 1991). The percentage of children born to unmarried mothers in Austria, Finland, France, and the United Kingdom was approximately 25%. In the rest of Europe, except in the former GDR where the proportion equalled one-third, proportions are considerably lower (within a few percentage points of 10%).

18. Not only have first marriages become relatively less common, but marriages themselves have become less durable. Divorce rates increased in the majority of ECE countries during the 1960s, with the greatest surge occurring after 1970. Results of an analysis that examined trends in general divorce rates among females 7/ through 1985, revealed that the increase was fastest in some countries that initially had the lowest incidence of divorce (Macura, Adams and Holzer-Zelazewska, 1990). In most of western and northern Europe, the general divorce rate increased by 50% or more between 1970 and 1980. In central and eastern Europe, except for the former GDR, the increase was more moderate, possibly because divorce rates there were initially higher than elsewhere. In southern Europe, no major increases in divorce were observed, despite the implementation of modern divorce laws in countries that previously did not have them.

(c) The family

19. Trends in union formation and dissolution have contributed greatly to the diversification of family forms, particularly in those west and north European countries and North America where cohabitation and a high incidence of union dissolution have been more pronounced. In addition to families consisting of couples in their first marriage who may or may not have children, a prevalent family form of a few decades ago, relatively numerous are families of cohabiting couples, one-parent families, and so-called reconstituted families. The increase in the numbers of lone-parent families which are typically headed by working women, has been particularly rapid in north and west European countries, where proportions of these families among all families with dependent children rose to 10 to 15% in the early 1980s (Ermisch, 1990).

20. The prevalence of reconstituted families is poorly documented, but it is widely acknowledged that this family form is increasingly important and represents a rather complex structure, particularly from the point of view of children (Dumon, 1993). In such a family, the child may live in a household with a step-parent who takes the place of his or her biological parent and also with step-siblings and half-siblings. Whether these living arrangements and family forms are acceptable and satisfying, or merely represent an uncomfortable compromise is not known. Furthermore, even less is known about whether people approve or disapprove of the population-related policies that affect this aspect of their lives, such as tax policy and parental leave.

(d) The dual burden of women

21. The changes in reproductive behaviour and union formation and dissolution in the ECE countries during the past three decades have been influenced by, and have in turn affected, the status of women in society, the family and particularly the labour force. Over the last three decades, women have entered the labour market en masse, partially as a result of experiencing major gains in educational attainment. In the West, this process of female labour force entry was brought about by sharp increases in demand for labour, caused by the expansion of the labour-intensive service sector, and the rising labour market expectations of increasingly better-educated women. In the East, the process took place in response to the state-sponsored industrialization drive and as a result of a concerted effort to bring women into the labour force and make them equal to men in the workplace. In order to enable women to balance the roles of paid work and housework, a variety of social policies of varying effectiveness have been implemented across the region.

22. Labour force participation rates among women have increased practically everywhere in Europe and North America since the mid-1960s (Gershuny, forthcoming; OECD, 1991). In the Nordic countries, increases to the highest levels ever observed in Europe have occurred at an unprecedented pace. In central and eastern Europe, except in Romania, increases to almost equally high levels were more gradual, due to the relatively widespread participation of women in the work force some 30 years ago. Elsewhere in Europe, increases to moderately-high levels of female labour force participation have been also gradual.

23. In 1990, in a number of countries with low to moderately high levels of overall female labour force participation, a bimodal age-specific participation pattern prevailed, signifying the tendency of women to temporarily withdraw from the labour market in order to bear and raise children. There are, however, countries with relatively low female participation rates, such as Spain, where over the past twenty years a unimodal age-specific female labour force participation pattern quickly replaced the bimodal pattern. In countries with high overall participation, the age profile is typically unimodal and similar to that of men, indicating no temporary withdrawal.

24. In addition to this diversity in the levels and age patterns of female labour force participation, there are substantial differences in the incidence of female part-time employment across the region. 8/ In northern and western Europe, proportions of employed women doing part-time work are considerably greater than proportions in southern, central and eastern Europe, where the vast majority of employed women work full-time. Moreover, in the majority of European countries, the proportions of women in part-time employment are several times higher than those of men (OECD, 1988). In fact, it is predominantly women who provide the bulk of all part-time work.

25. The increase in women's labour force participation has brought upon them the 'dual burden' of paid work and housework, including child care (Corrin (1992)). This dual burden is a consequence of the rapidly-growing presence of women in paid work, at a time when housework responsibilities still remain segregated by gender. It appears that "the primary male responsibility remains in the workforce, the female in the home. Though she has entered the workforce, the woman retains the domestic responsibilities" (Gershuny, forthcoming). This makes it impossible for women to be as competitive as men in the labour market, leading to lower pay for women and fewer promotion prospects. In some countries, notably in Austria and the Netherlands, recent policy changes were designed to redress this problem.

2. Government policies relating to fertility and the family

26. All ECE countries have various fertility- and family-related policies, which we shall simply refer to as family policies. These policies, in one way or another, influence, as well as respond to, trends and patterns in fertility, union formation and dissolution, family size and composition, shifts in the labour market and the greatly changed roles of women in the family and society. The policies of various countries vary widely with respect to their underlying rationale, objectives, and comprehensiveness. They also vary with respect to their impact (intended or unintended) on, and response to, the trends and patterns in question. Partly as a result of these variations in policies, gender equality, women's emancipation, and their

integration into society and the economy vary a great deal among different countries and sub-regions.

27. It is possible to distinguish three main objectives of family policies, one or two of which are pursued by the vast majority of Governments. The first objective, which is almost universal, is to provide support to the family, including working mothers, and ensure that its welfare is secured. The second objective, which is less often spelled out and which is found only in countries with pronatalist policies, is to ensure desirable levels of aggregate fertility. The third objective, which is being explicitly pursued in public policy in only one country of the region, Netherlands, is described as equal opportunities for all; the objective being to meet the needs of all individuals and families of diverse forms.

28. The mix of family policies varies a great deal across the region. In any given country, the policy mix can include any of the following family policy measures or a combination thereof: family benefits, family-related tax provisions, relevant labour market measures, and childcare provisions. The combination of policy measures may vary from a set of weak, laissez-faire provisions and regulations, such as those currently in force in the United States, to a set of strong, stimulative measures, an example of which is currently found in Hungary. Most policies are enacted and implemented by governments, which depending on the particular set-up of the country, may be at the central, regional or local level. For example, in Switzerland, many family policy measures are within the purview of the cantons rather than the federal government. In some countries, notably those with free market traditions, the private sector, in particular the corporation, plays an increasingly active role in the provision of certain services, such as daily childcare, and/or adapts its operations to the needs of working couples with children (Dumon, 1992).

29. Family benefits, monetary and in-kind, are granted in many countries to eligible individuals or families in order to offset family maintenance costs and/or to support certain basic needs. The most important among them are child and family allowances, but these benefits also include, inter alia, birth allowances, marriage grants and preferential access to employment and housing. Child allowances, which are far more common than family allowances, vary in many countries with the number of children. In some countries the amount received per child increases with the age of the child (e.g. in Belgium, France and Netherlands) and/or birth order (France and Germany). As a rule, all children are eligible, but in some countries, such as Spain, these benefits are means-tested. Family allowances in Italy, which vary with the household size rather than with the number of children, are also means-tested.

30. Selected aspects of national tax regulations are designed with the express purpose of responding to changing family forms and living arrangements and/or with the objective of influencing family welfare. In the European Union, recent tax reforms, which were finalized in the few years prior to 1991, have brought about unification of the treatment of couples in marital and consensual unions (Dumon, 1992). In particular, with the view toward eliminating differences between married and cohabiting couples, all EC countries now tax each individual's income regardless of whether they are married, cohabiting, or living alone. This has eliminated differential treatment between married couples and unmarried couples. These tax reforms, however, have not radically changed provisions relating to tax deductions for

dependent children. Where changes have been made, they have, among other things, increased tax breaks and/or increased the maximum age of children eligible for a tax allowance. The tax allowances for dependent spouses, which are typically larger than those for dependent children, have also been maintained.

31. Measures designed to enable women to combine child bearing and rearing with paid employment exist throughout Europe. These measures, which include maternity leave and related benefits, parental leave and accompanying allowances, and part-time and flexible-time work, come in varying combinations in different countries. Moreover, the length of different leaves and the generosity of related benefits or allowances also varies a great deal. Some of these measures in certain countries, such as Hungary, are effective substitutes for child-care provisions.

32. Maternity leave may be as short as 14 weeks (in the former FRG in 1990) or as long as 450 days (in Sweden) and there is a tendency to make maternity benefits equivalent to the full pay of the mother (Dumon, 1991, Council of Europe, 1992). The length of parental leave, which can be taken by either the mother or the father in order to stay at home and raise the child, varies from a few months to several years. In some countries (e.g. Ireland and Italy) this type of leave is available to employees in the public sector but not to those in the private sector. In some countries, the parent returns to the same job after the leave, while in others, their career position is not guaranteed. In addition, the compensation for lost income while on parental leave varies a great deal among the European countries. Among the most generous provisions are those recently enacted in Hungary (Kamarás, forthcoming). The provisions relating to part-time work and flexi-work vary greatly among the countries, with the Nordic and some west European countries setting the trend and countries in southern, central and eastern Europe trailing.

33. Institutionalized child day care is intended to enable successful balancing of work and family roles among working parents, particularly working women. Although this is widely recognized throughout the ECE region, availability and affordability of child day care varies substantially between countries. As a result, the proportion of pre-school children, especially those children aged 3 or younger in registered child care, differs a great deal among countries. In some countries, especially those in central and eastern Europe, where proportions of pre-school children in day care are high, the State continues to be a major provider of day-care services, often at an affordable cost to parents. Widely available and affordable day-care services are essential in these countries where the vast majority of women work and part-time work is rare. In other countries, day-care services are provided by the State, the private sector, and increasingly by the employer--the corporate sector in particular. In some countries the supply of these services continues to be moderately to grossly inadequate. In the Nordic countries much of the demand for day-care services is met, partly because of a strong government commitment to institutionalized day care.

34. In view of great variations in policy measures relating to reproduction, union formation, and the family, the European Population Conference has called on Governments to strengthen various policy instruments. The following three recommendations appear to be particularly relevant in the context of the present discussion:

"Recommendation 4

Governments, in cooperation with the private sector and the social partners, should help the ever-increasing number of parents who desire to achieve fulfilment through both professional life and parental roles. They could contribute to making these two goals compatible by developing and strengthening social services such as child minders, crèches, kindergartens, and parental leave. In addition, they should encourage other measures to facilitate work outside the family by either parent, such as part-time activity and flexible schedules. Particular attention should be given to the needs of women, who still bear a disproportionate burden of the responsibility in the family, by introducing measures which encourage men to share these responsibilities.

"Recommendation 6

In order to develop better gender equality, Governments should promote conditions that further political, economic and social equality between men and women, including equal opportunities for education, training and employment, and equality in family responsibilities.

"Recommendation 16

Governments should ensure that families, and in particular women and children, have access to a full range of appropriate, quality health services and programmes. This includes family planning and reproductive health services entailing preconceptual, prenatal and postnatal care. Such services should be accessible to all women and also contribute to reducing infant and maternal mortality and morbidity and promote healthy birth outcomes and healthy development of children, now and in the future, in keeping with the goals of the declaration and plan of action adopted at the World Summit for Children, 1990."

C. POPULATION AGEING AND THE ELDERLY

1. Trends and patterns in population ageing and the elderly

35. Secular declines in fertility and mortality have spread to all corners of the ECE region; however, declines in various countries started at different dates, proceeded at varying speeds and were subject to effects of the First and the Second World War to different degrees. As a result, the populations of all ECE countries have been undergoing population ageing, but trends and patterns of change in age structures and, in particular, in proportions and numbers of elderly, vary a great deal.

36. Mortality declines since the beginning of this century approximately doubled human longevity in many countries. For example, in Germany, Italy and Spain between 1900 and 1960, life expectancy at birth for both sexes increased from between 40 to 45 years to approximately 75 years. For women and men separately, between 1960 and 1991, it rose further to about 80 years and 70 to 75 years, respectively (Preston, 1976). Much of the gains in longevity in recent years, especially in countries with high life expectancies, have resulted from improvements in old age survival. Mortality improvements at the upper end of the age distribution have, thus, become an increasingly important contribution to population ageing. Despite this increased contribution,

however, population ageing in Europe and North America was, and continues to be, primarily a consequence of the secular fertility decline, a decline which since the beginning of the century reduced TFRs to levels that are much less than one-half the levels found at the beginning of the century (Coale and Watkins, 1986). 9/

37. Age structures in all ECE countries have undergone profound changes since 1950, and the changes are projected to continue through 2025, though often at a slower pace. 10/ As part of this general shift, the share of the young (persons below age 20) has decreased during 1950-1990 and is projected to continue along this downward course. Declining proportions of young persons during the 1950-2025 period are largest in absolute and relative terms in south European countries, where the proportions young were Europe's highest in 1950; proportions in 1950 ranged from over one-third in Italy to close to one-half in Albania. Some notable exceptions aside, changes in these proportions in northern and western Europe during the same period are more modest because the decline started from relatively low levels of below one-third. In central and eastern Europe, declines in the proportion young from initially intermediate levels of one-third or higher take place at an intermediate pace and lead to the highest proportions observed anywhere in Europe in 2025.

38. On the other end of the age distribution changes are equally unwavering. As the share of the young declines during the 1950-2025 period, the share of the elderly (population aged 60 and above) increases. In north and west European countries, which in 1950 had the most demographically mature age profiles in the ECE region with shares of the elderly mostly within the range 13-15%, the proportions 60 and over are projected by 2025 to reach levels of between 25 and 30%. South European countries, with lower shares of elderly in 1950, are projected to catch up with west and north European countries. With the exceptions of Albania and the former Yugoslavia, elderly proportions in south European countries are projected to reach levels within the same 25-30% range. 11/ Countries of central and eastern Europe are expected to experience slower increases in the proportions elderly through 2025. In the majority of these countries, the proportions are projected to rise from around 10% or higher in 1950 to less than 25% in 2025. In view of this trend, the needs for benefits and services for the elderly as a group will grow at a faster rate than those for other population groups. The increase in many of these needs will be driven by the growing numbers and proportions of elderly women, who due to major survival advantages over elderly men dominate the ranks of the elderly population.

39. Some ECE countries have experienced intense population ageing during 1950-1990 while others will be going through this phase between 1990 and 2025. In other words, increases in elderly proportions through 2025 will not occur evenly across the region. The largest percentage point increases in this proportion are projected to occur, among others, in Finland (10.5), Italy (10.0), Netherlands (9.5), and Greece (9.4), countries rapidly moving toward demographic maturity. In contrast, during this same period, Sweden and Norway, where over 20% of the population was already elderly in 1990, are expected to experience less than 5 percentage point increases. Uneven demographic change across the region is likely to result in uneven changes in demand for policy change across the region, obviously a phenomenon of interest to social scientists and policy makers.

40. Aside from rising proportions of elderly, significant policy-relevant demographic changes are occurring within the elderly population itself. The most notable shift between 1950 and 1990 was the increase in the ratio of the number of old old (elderly aged 75 and over) to the number of young old (elderly aged 60 to 74), a trend observed throughout the ECE region. 12/ Between 1990 and 2025, the United Nations projections suggest that such increases will be relatively rare in north and west European countries; countries in which this ratio is projected to increase through 2025 include Finland (0.44 to 0.53), Sweden (0.54 to 0.63) and France (0.46 to 0.54). In central, eastern and southern Europe, the majority of countries will experience increases in this ratio, although some countries will experience declines.

41. The number of the old old is projected to increase throughout the region at a moderate to rapid pace. Large absolute increases in this group of elderly are projected for a number of countries: France, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and Switzerland. Smaller increases are projected for Austria, Denmark, Hungary, Norway, Poland and Sweden. One may anticipate that increases in associated health care and particularly in long-term care costs will be proportionate to the relative increases in the old old population.

2. Changing families and support to the elderly

42. Population ageing has been accompanied throughout the region, especially in north and west European countries, with major shifts in the size and structure of the family. Secular declines in both fertility and mortality have given rise to a gradual emergence of the multigenerational family, a family form that has not been well documented but is referred to in the literature as the 'beanpole family' (Bengtson, Rosenthal and Burton, 1990). This type of family consists of four, and increasingly five, generations and has relatively small numbers of members in each generation. Female members of the fourth and especially fifth generation are more numerous than male members because of large sex differentials in mortality among the elderly that favour women. In the future, care and support for the elderly will be increasingly sought from the middle generation of this type of family, and within this generation preponderantly from women. 13/ The demand for, and supply of, family-based care and support are in part determined by demographic factors that can be approximated by the sex ratio of the elderly population and the so-called support ratio, which will presently be discussed. 14/

43. One other important consequence of the declines of fertility and mortality rates has been a growing proportion of households in which persons live alone. The majority of individuals living in these households are elderly people and, among them, widowed women. The increase over time in the number of single-person households has, however, taken place at a faster rate than can be accounted for by population ageing alone. A complete explanation of these rising proportions requires that the increased tendency of older adults to live alone be coupled with the structural shift towards aged populations.

44. Sex ratios among the elderly of two broad age groups--60-74 and 75 and over--in a number of countries display a constant relative ranking, but divergent trends over time. In the vast majority of the ECE countries between 1950 and 2025, the sex ratio of persons aged 75 and above is lower than that

of the elderly aged 60-74, indicating the higher demand of the old for non-spousal care and support. The ratios for the two age groups change over time in all countries. In particular, the sex ratios of the 60-74 year olds rise gradually through 1950-2025, with increases being steepest in west European countries after 1985. Countries experiencing the largest increases include Finland (67 to 89), France (70 to 87), Spain (76 to 92), Switzerland (80 to 96), the United Kingdom (77 to 93), Austria (74 to 89) and Germany (78 to 93). Sex ratios of persons aged 75+ declined through approximately 1965 in central, eastern and southern Europe, after which time they remain fairly stable through 2025. Initial declines in northern and western Europe, turn into increases around 1970 and 1995, and are projected to continue to rise through the end of the 75 year period. These projections suggest no increase in demand for non-spousal care and support among the old as a result of demographic change in central, eastern and southern Europe, but rising demand in northern and western Europe.

45. Between 1950 and 2025, observed and projected support ratios show a downward trend across most of the region, suggesting that traditional family-based support and care is becoming increasingly scarce. In northern and western Europe in 1950 there were, on average, approximately four women age 40-59 for every person aged 75 or over. By 1990, this ratio had diminished by 50% to approximately two potential care givers for every person over age 75. In 2025, projections show that there will be only 1.2 women age 40 to 59 for each person aged 75 years or more. Trends in southern, central and eastern Europe follow this same negative trend, but remain higher throughout the 75 year period. Support ratios in southern Europe were approximately 4.5 in 1950 and are projected to be 1.5 in 2025. In central and eastern Europe in 1950 and 2025, the respective ratios are 6 and 2. Thus, in the medium-term future, it is clear that non-family support and care programmes for the population aged 75+ may need to be expanded, which will add to the already growing pressure on the middle-aged women of the so-called "sandwich generation" to work outside home, possibly raise their own children, as well as care for their elderly parents, particularly mothers.

46. Some of the main policy challenges arising from these demographic changes include the maintenance and support of programmes for the elderly, especially elderly widowed women who did not spend their younger years in the labour force, the provision of adequate health care services for all females especially elderly frail women, the expansion of educational and labour force opportunities that help increase the level of female independence throughout the life cycle, and the creation and continuing support of community-based care programmes that maintain high levels of social integration among the elderly and the rest of society. Moreover, policy challenges also include those arising from the multiple roles of women in the "sandwich generation".

47. At the other end of the adult/elderly age span, young women, who have not entered into unions and begun forming their families, face some problems unique to their generation. Although their numbers are relatively small in comparison to the numbers of women in older age groups, which is the result of a secular fertility decline alluded to above, they are not enjoying benefits that should be associated with their relatively small numbers. Predictions of studies concerned with employment and income benefits accruing to relatively small cohorts entering the labour market have been refuted by two digit unemployment rates in much of western Europe. As a result, young women leaving educational institutions are faced with the lack of employment

opportunities and, therefore, increasingly leave parental home and form unions at a later age. The greatest possible challenge to public policy here is a rapid creation of quality, well-paying jobs that would guarantee easier transition of the young finishing education into the labour market and family formation phase.

3. Selected social and economic changes accompanying population ageing

48. Population ageing has proceeded hand-in-hand with a decline in labour force participation among middle aged and elderly persons in most parts of the ECE region, including central and eastern Europe (ILO, 1989). Partly as a result of population ageing and declines in labour force participation of the middle aged and the elderly, pension expenditures, measured relative to gross domestic product (GDP), increased throughout the region between 1960 and 1985. Particularly rapid percentage point increase in public pension expenditures (measured as a ratio of expenditures to GDP), occurred in Italy (10.1), while a moderately show increase has been observed in Germany (2.1). Increases in the ratio of public pension expenditures four other European countries during the same period for which the data are available were the following: Austria (9.6 to 14.5), the Netherlands (4.0 to 10.6), Spain (2.4 to 8.6, between 1967 and 1984), and Switzerland (2.3 to 8.1) (OECD, 1988b). The projected ratio of public pension expenditures to GDP between 1985 and 2050 show a continued significant increase that emanates from three sources: increased coverage, real increases in benefit levels, and increases in the number of elderly persons. On average, between 1985 and 2050, the demographic component of total pension expenditure growth throughout Europe is estimated to be 50%. 15/

49. Detailed information on health care costs in the OECD countries indicates that rising pension expenditures have been accompanied by rising health care expenditures between 1960 and 1985, a period during which average health care expenditures for OECD countries increased from 2.6 to 6.0% of GDP (OECD, 1987). This increase was only partly caused by shifts in the population age structure; a large portion of the increase is attributable to real price increases and increased service utilization. The projected impact of demographic change on health-care expenditure between 1980 and 2040 is significant, although because of uncertain assumptions about price increases and changes in service utilization rates, the magnitude of the impact is difficult to predict. Nevertheless, the OECD estimates show that between 1980 and 2040, real earnings per worker will need to increase 50 to 60% to keep up with the projected increases in health-care spending caused merely by demographic change (OECD, 1987). This is equivalent to an increase in real earnings of 0.6 to 0.9% per year per worker, a rate of growth not likely to be achieved.

4. Policy responses to population ageing: pension systems and other programmes

50. Governments of the majority of ECE countries have developed, as part of their broader welfare systems, comprehensive programmes providing different forms of old age security, many of which cater to elderly population groups in which the growing majority consists of women. The programmes include, inter alia, pension systems, health insurance schemes, and, with increasing prevalence, long-term care arrangements. As population ageing exerts growing pressure on the resources of these programmes the solvency of the programmes along with, eligibility criteria, benefit levels, and contribution levels, are

being carefully watched and occasionally modified by policy makers. Public response to these policy adjustments is often unpredictable, which makes legislators and policy makers reluctant to solve foreseeable but complex problems.

51. Most pension systems existing today in the region can be classified into one of three types. The first is the universal type, which is defined by a flat-rate benefit structure and universal coverage. The second type is the insurance type, which is identified by earnings-related benefit schedules and labour-force-related eligibility criteria. The third type of pension system is a mixture of the universal system and the insurance system. Most south and west European countries employ the insurance type of pension system and most north European countries have designed a mixed system 16/ (OECD, 1988b).

52. The majority of the public pension systems in the region are managed on a pay-as-you go basis, which means that funds are collected and almost immediately distributed to the pension-receiving population (OECD, 1992). There are several sources of funds for these pension systems, but the most important three are employee contributions, employer contributions, and transfers from general government revenues. (Other less significant income sources include self-employed contributions, specific earmarked taxes, and interest from previous revenue surpluses.) In Austria, Belgium, Germany and Switzerland, for example, contributions from employees and employers account for over 70% of public pension funding. In the Netherlands, these contributions account for nearly 100% of public pension revenue (OECD, 1988b). As populations continue to age, burdens on these revenue sources are expected to increase significantly and trigger a re-evaluation of their funding mechanisms and the intergenerational contract they represent.

53. Pension systems in western Europe distinguish among three types of pensionable ages: standard pensionable age, long-service pensionable age, and minimum pensionable age (OECD, 1988b). For males in most west European countries the standard pensionable age is 65, 17/ the long-service pensionable age is 60, and the minimum pensionable age is 50 to 55. Increased frequency of pension eligibility below the standard retirement age, combined with a proliferation of early eligibility in private pension systems, has enabled early labour force withdrawal for large numbers of individuals.

54. Several options to ensure solvency of public pension systems are available to policy makers, although some are more politically acceptable than others. For example, changing the eligibility rules or benefit levels in ways that adversely affect current recipients is extremely difficult, but it is often politically palatable to change these same rules in ways that only affect future recipients. Possible pension system reforms that may be considered in the future include reducing coverage, reducing cost-of-living adjustments, increasing taxes on benefits, reducing the percentage of earnings replaced, increasing the eligibility age, and increasing the amount of contributions paid by pension contributors. All of these adjustment choices require changes in behaviour, either directly by increasing the age of eligibility or indirectly by increasing contribution levels and/or decreasing benefit levels. The public's preference for one type of change versus another is not well understood, a problem that can be partly solved by population policy surveys of the type presented in this volume.

55. In addition to pension and health programmes, long-term care programmes for the elderly and accompanying financing arrangements are being introduced in an increasing number of ECE countries. The need for those programmes arises from the rapidly growing numbers and proportions of the old old, the majority of whom are women and many of whom are frail and/or physically and mentally disabled and, therefore, in need of day-to-day care and support within their home, at community-level institutions or hospital facilities. In view of the rising financial and human resource needs for this type of care some countries are encouraging a fuller involvement of the family and community volunteers in these activities. To stimulate the family involvement, some Governments, mostly those in the West, provide financial assistance to persons caring for their elderly. Other countries, mainly in the East, legislate obligations of the children of elderly persons to provide care and, if necessary, financial support to their parents.

56. The European Population Conference has recently reviewed social and economic implications of population ageing and made, inter alia, the following recommendations to ECE governments relating to policies and programmes concerned with the elderly and population ageing:

"Recommendation 25

Governments should seek to enhance the self-reliance of the elderly and to facilitate their continued participation in society. Governments should ensure that the necessary conditions are created to enable elderly people to lead self-determined lives and to make full use of the skills and abilities they have acquired in their lives for the benefit of society.

"Recommendation 26

Governments should consider, as appropriate, social security system reforms to ensure greater intergenerational and intragenerational equity and solidarity. Such reforms should also deal with the potential imbalances between revenues and expenditures in the pension programme. Those no longer capable of working should be assured reasonable benefits, irrespective of age.

"Recommendation 27

Policies should stimulate different forms of care for older populations, which will increase substantially in numbers, especially in the highest age brackets. Special efforts should be made to enable older persons to remain in their homes and communities, as far as possible, by providing greater home and community health care and social services, improving coordination of community services, expanding rehabilitation programmes, and giving financial and other incentives to assist families and individuals in taking care of the elderly. Governments should also elaborate policies to address the growing need for organized care in public and private sectors."

D. INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND FOREIGN POPULATIONS

1. Migration trends into the late 1980s

57. Through much of the post-Second World War period, until the late 1980s, the basic conditions of international migration differed a great deal across the ECE region. Western governments resorted to some regulating of

immigration in the perceived interests of their respective countries. Nevertheless, many individuals and families were able to exercise a reasonable amount of freedom to realize their personal preferences of international relocation. More recently, selected members of the European Union reached agreements on the free movement of their citizens among their countries. In contrast, all central and eastern European Governments, except the Government of former Yugoslavia from the early 1960s, maintained tight emigration controls and, as a result, the overwhelming majority of the population of these countries was denied the right to leave if they so desired. Beginning in 1989 these controls have been mostly dismantled. The two fundamentally different migration regimes of western and eastern Europe have greatly influenced the migration trends and patterns currently observed.

58. North America has been the world's principal immigration region for the past two centuries, which traditionally received settlers from Europe, but more recently receives them mainly from developing countries. Since the 1950s, western Europe has become a new and prominent immigration area, where initially the main immigration countries were the former FRG and France, together with Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden and Switzerland (Economic Commission for Europe, 1975). In large part immigration to these countries was due to a considerable demand for labour generated by the post-war economic boom. Governments facilitated, and often promoted and organized, the influx of foreign labour, particularly from southern Europe and Turkey. In the 1970s, when the demand for labour tapered off, immigration continued, with family reunification becoming an important component. In addition, the dissolution of colonial empires allowed citizens from former colonies to move to their respective European centres more easily. This, in turn, led to significant immigration flows, in particular from the Indian subcontinent, the Caribbean, Indonesia, and from former African colonies mainly to the United Kingdom, Netherlands and France.

59. The average total number of immigrants to the primary immigration countries of western and northern Europe during the 1970s and 1980s (Belgium, France, the former FRG, Netherlands, Sweden and the United Kingdom) was close to 1,200,000 per year (Zlotnik, 1992). Even though the total number of immigrants to these countries was large, their net immigration for the period before 1990 was small. During the first half of the 1980s, for instance, these countries received over 920,000 immigrants per year, but overall net migration was slightly negative, -10,000 on average per year (Zlotnik, 1992).

60. Starting in the 1970s, countries of southern Europe also became countries with a positive migration balance (Economic Commission for Europe, 1992). Typically, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Turkey and the former Yugoslavia experienced significant emigration throughout the 1960s and into the early 1970s. By the late 1970s and in the 1980s, Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain, experienced modest net-migration gains (Economic Commission for Europe, 1992). Italy, for instance, had a net annual emigration balance of 140,000 for 1964-1967 and a net annual immigration balance of 79,000 during 1981-1984.

61. In central and eastern Europe, even during the years of tightly controlled emigration there were relatively small flows of intensely dissatisfied and/or oppressed people leaving for the West. It was the occasional major crises in these regimes that allowed for larger outflows of emigrants, refugees and asylum seekers. In particular, as a consequence of the crises in Hungary in 1956 and in the former Czechoslovakia in 1968,

considerable numbers of people left these countries. Poland's political instability and ailing economy in the 1980s led to an estimated emigration, mostly illegal, of around 100,000 people per year (Economic Commission for Europe, 1992).

62. In the final years of east European socialism, the controls over the cross-border movement of people were apparently relaxed, resulting in an increase in the number of asylum seekers from east European countries from 16,000 in 1983 to 48,000 in 1987 and further to 245,000 in 1991 (Inter-governmental Consultations, 1992). The number of asylum applications filed in the West increased considerably in 1992 to over 420,000 (Inter-governmental Consultations, 1993). Also, ethnic Germans and Jews were allowed to emigrate in greater numbers (Economic Commission for Europe, 1992). The total number of ethnic Germans (Aussiedler) that arrived in Germany between 1987 and 1991 was almost 1,300,000.

63. These various migration flows within and towards the ECE regions included large numbers of labour migrants and their family members. The flows towards west European countries during the period of high demand for foreign labour, until the first oil shock in 1973, included mainly male migrant workers recruited through the "guest worker" programmes. Once these migrants established themselves in the countries of their new employment and their stay became progressively more permanent, their family members followed in their footsteps. Thus, women and children joined the flow, building the numbers of foreign populations in the host countries to unprecedented numbers. The policy of receiving countries allowing family reunification made possible migration of women within Europe on a scale not seen before.

2. Selected recent trends

64. It appears that the overall numbers of immigrants to the West in the late 1980s and early 1990s are large and increasing while the willingness of western Governments and the general population to receive them is low and waning. First of all, the numbers of regular migrants 18/ in 1990, seeking employment abroad and joining their families, were somewhat higher than the annual averages for the 1980s in Belgium, France, Netherlands, Switzerland and the United Kingdom (SOPEMI, 1992). Moreover the numbers of illegal immigrants in a number of west and south European countries are believed to be significant. In 1987-88 there was an estimated number of 850,000 illegal immigrants in Italy, 294,000 in Spain, 70,000 in Greece and 60,000 in Portugal (Coleman, 1993).

65. One component of the recent increase in immigration to the West stemmed from rapidly growing numbers of asylum seekers throughout the late 1980s and early 1990s. In 1985 the number of new asylum seekers in the selected west, north and south European countries was 165,000; by 1992 it had risen to 680,000, a more than four-fold increase. 19/ A large proportion, almost two-thirds, of the new asylum seekers came from three countries, the former Yugoslavia (250,000; 37%), Romania (117,000; 17%) and Turkey (37,000; 5 %). The remainder came mostly from developing countries. While many of the applications for asylum are appropriately justified and are filed because of serious persecution in the country of origin, there is also clear evidence that many people are abusing the institution of asylum under false pretexts. In 1992 the majority of European asylum applications were filed in Germany

(438,000, 64%) and in Sweden (83,000, 12%). Together these two countries accounted for two thirds of the asylum applications.

66. Refugees are also contributing significantly to the inflows of migrants to the West and to some central and east European countries. 20/ In the two years since the beginning of the armed conflicts in 1991, approximately 670,000 persons have left the republics of the former Yugoslavia for other countries of Europe. The largest numbers of these were found in Germany (244,000; about 36% of the above number), Switzerland (87,000; 13%), Sweden (70,000, 10%), Austria (65,000; 10%), the United Kingdom (47,000; 7%), and in Hungary (29,000; 4%) (UNHCR, 1993).

67. The dissolution of the Soviet Union also had a number of consequences for international migration in Europe. In the first place, any movements between the newly established independent republics that would have taken place in any event are now considered international migration, whereas under the previous regime these movements would have been classified as internal migration. Moreover, the emergence of new independent states has generated flows of people moving to the states where their fellow nationals represent a majority. This is probably true mainly for Russians who are leaving the Baltic, Caucasian, and the central Asian States to return to Russia, at times as refugees. For instance, as of 1 March 1993, almost 90,000 refugees were reported to have arrived in Russia from Tajikistan (CIS Statistical Committee, 1993).

68. Emigration from the Czech Republic, Hungary, and the Slovak Republic appears to have been quite small. In recent years, however, these countries, and Poland, have become transit migration countries. Transit migrants usually enter on tourist visas, but they also enter as refugees, under false pretences or illegally, with the intention of reaching a west or north European country. This can often be more difficult than originally expected, which means that a rather large number of illegal migrants are in these countries at any one time, creating numerous strains on the administrations and citizens of the countries concerned (Economic Commission for Europe, 1993b).

69. As indicated above, within the migration movements in and toward the ECE region there are increasing numbers of illegal migrants, asylum seekers, and refugees, who until recently were relatively few. Among some of these categories of migrants and particularly as part of certain flows, such as those recently originating in Romania, women along with men and children are numerous. Among refugees and internally displaced persons, who have been forced to flee their homes and communities as a result of the wars in former Yugoslavia and several newly independent States, women are likely to be more prevalent than men, who often take part in these civil conflicts. These women, some of whom have witnessed brutalities of war and/or experienced rape before fleeing often have to assume the role of heads of their displaced households and provide and care for children and the elderly. Although often being spared injury and death, they appear to bear a heavy burden of displacement, divided families, and the need to putting the lives of their families together. These conditions of women and other categories of civilian populations brought about by the civil wars pose major challenges for national and international governmental and non-governmental organizations active in the field of extending relevant and timely assistance.

3. Ethnic minorities and foreign populations

70. For several decades following the Second World War ethnic relations in most of Europe's nation States were quite calm and most existing tensions were mild. The general condemnation of the atrocities committed during that war, which were linked to extreme nationalism, racism and ethnic intolerance, certainly contributed to this atmosphere. In the West, where living standards for most of the population were continuously improving, there was practically no abject poverty and considerations of ethnic and other cultural or religious differentials were not conspicuous. In central and eastern Europe official ideology strongly promoted coexistence and brotherhood of nationalities within States. Many if not all the conditions for ethnic peace, however, have been gradually changing and serious trouble spots are emerging. The most extreme cases have resulted in open warfare in the former Yugoslavia and in newly independent States along Russia's southern borders. Also, the various migration streams of the recent past are the result of, and have contributed to, this troubled situation.

71. Labour immigration since the late 1950s, together with the influx of citizens from former colonies, family reunifications, sizable increases in asylum seekers--many of whom remained in the country of application without legal acceptance--and an extraordinary rise in the number of refugees, have in an historically extremely short period of time generated relatively large ethnic minorities and/or foreign-populations in many west and north European countries as well as in North America. Often such population groups are of a non-European ethnic, cultural and religious background and have been slow to integrate. The slow pace of integration, compounded by rising numbers of foreigners, have strained ethnic relations, sometimes leading to open violence towards certain groups of foreigners, including women.

72. In the European Community in 1990, "foreign residents" totalled 13 million persons, or 4% of the population. 21/ The increase in the numbers of these foreigners has been particularly rapid in the major immigration countries. Thus, in Germany, there were 7,000 Turkish citizens in 1961; by 1990 their number increased to 1,676,000 (Statistisches Bundesamt, 1992). In France in 1946 there were 22,000 Algerians and 16,000 Moroccans; by 1990 there were 614,000 Algerians and 573,000 Moroccans. In 1990, there were 111,000 naturalized Algerians and 68,000 naturalized Moroccans in France (Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques, 1992). In England and Wales in 1951 there were 16,000 persons whose birthplace was in the West Indies and 122,000 who were born on the Indian subcontinent; by 1981, there were 294,000 of the former and 613,000 of the latter (Coleman and Salt, 1992).

73. Relatively high shares of foreign-born populations, including their children born in the country of immigration, have been naturalized in some countries, such as France, leading to smaller communities of foreigners. In other countries, the prime example of which is Germany, no naturalization of foreigners or their children took place on any sizable scale, leaving the numbers of foreigners undiminished. Shares of these foreign populations in European countries in 1990, which, of course, partly reflect national naturalization practices, vary a great deal. In Europe, the share of foreigners is highest in Switzerland (16.3%) and lowest in Italy (1.4). In some other countries, the shares are as follows: in the Netherlands 4.6%, Austria 5.3%, the former FRG 8.2%, and in Belgium 9.1% (SOPEMI, 1992).

4. Policies related to international migration

74. The Governments of countries experiencing undesirable immigration and/or having sizable foreign populations are resorting to three different categories of policy measures, most of which are aimed at lowering the levels of immigration in their various forms. The first set of policies is directed towards redressing the causes of undesirable migration by collaborating with developing countries and central and east European countries to promote economic development and the resolution of conflicts, such as wars, by peaceful means. The second set of measures includes administrative and related regulations designed to bring migration flows, especially illegal components of these flows, under control. Among these measures are streamlined asylum procedures, tighter entry controls, punitive measures applying to employers of illegal foreign workers, and repatriation agreements. Finally, a broad range of policies and programmes are used in a number of countries to promote integration of migrants into host societies. The complexities of devising and implementing such policies have been addressed by numerous national and international institutions and many conferences in recent years. 22/

75. As of the early 1990s, with the unfortunate exception of some of the states of the former Yugoslavia and a few newly independent States, central and east European countries are in the midst of conceptualizing and modifying their migration and related policies in order to manage the effects of migration on their societies. Major difficulties are frequently encountered. For example, Estonia approved a new citizenship law in June 1993 only to re-examine it a week later on account of major dissatisfaction and pressure from neighbouring Russia, which strongly objected to provisions of the law that supposedly discriminated against ethnic Russians residing in Estonia. Hungary has passed a new citizenship law in early 1993 with naturalization procedures that are clearly more stringent.

76. Many migration and integration policies are currently undergoing changes across the ECE region. It is for this reason that the European Population Conference has made a series of recommendations to ECE Governments related to these policies. Among these recommendations were the following:

"Recommendation 34

In view of their responsibilities under the United Nations Charter, and consistent with their obligations under the existing international instruments in the field of human rights, Governments should do everything in their power to avoid new massive flows of refugees and displaced persons. Accordingly, they should respect the rights of individuals belonging to minorities and refrain from creating or contributing, by their domestic policies, to causes and factors which generally lead to massive flows of refugees and involuntary migration. This implies, among other things, a condemnation of all kinds of "ethnic cleansing" whether it is the responsibility of Governments or local groups within a country.

"Recommendation 35

Women and children comprise the overwhelming majority of the worldwide refugee population. Protection and assistance programmes can be effective only if they are planned and implemented with full recognition of the needs of

women and children. The active involvement of refugee women in all stages of programme development and service delivery is essential.

"Recommendation 43

As a consequence of the irregularity of their situation, illegal immigrants are particularly vulnerable to all forms of exploitation and discrimination. Governments of receiving countries should ensure that their basic human rights are respected."

PART II. STATISTICAL ISSUES

A. PAST WORK IN THE ECE IN THE FIELD OF GENDER STATISTICS

77. In 1983, the Conference of European Statisticians, a Principal Subsidiary Body of the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), included a project on statistics of women in its programme of work. It convened its first meeting in the project in 1985, jointly with the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW). Since then it has convened intergovernmental meetings in this field generally at two-year intervals - a rate considerably above the average for most projects in the Conference's work programme. The Conference's fifth meeting on statistics of women is scheduled to be held in March 1995, and this meeting, like most of the preceding ones, is also being convened jointly with INSTRAW.

78. The work of the Conference in all fields of statistics is heavily oriented towards conceptual and methodological problems and issues. The meetings which the Conference convened during the past decade on statistics of women conformed to this tradition, for they constituted a forum where experts in gender statistics working in national and international statistical offices in countries of the ECE region came together to exchange experiences and discuss emerging issues and new developments. The agendas of these meetings have provided excellent scope for innovative statistical work being undertaken "behind the scenes" in many countries to be brought to the attention of a larger audience with similar interest. These meetings have also provided scope for countries to exchange experiences on many key issues of concern in this field, such as: the labour force participation of women in the ECE region; the underestimation of women's participation in the labour force; household production and the system of national accounts; estimating the economic value of domestic and related activities; measuring and evaluating women's participation in the informal sector of the economy; measurement of labour inputs in domestic, household, informal and related activities and the valuation of their outputs; measuring the economic contributions of women through time use surveys; national surveys of informal carers; and strategies required for the implementation of the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women.

79. Issues such as these are likely to continue to figure prominently on the agendas of meetings in this field that the Conference of European Statisticians convenes in the future, and thus will continue to serve as a catalyst for promoting more rapid progress at the national and international levels, not only in the ECE region but in other regions as well.

B. PLANNED PUBLICATION ON STATISTICS OF WOMEN AND MEN IN THE ECE REGION

80. In addition to the planned March 1995 meeting on statistics of women, the programme of work of the Conference also includes the preparation of a special publication on statistics of women in the ECE region. The publication is being produced in cooperation with Statistics Sweden, and INSTRAW is helping to underwrite the costs of producing the publication. The Statistical Office of the European Communities (EUROSTAT) is currently considering joining forces with ECE in producing it. The publication is scheduled to be produced in time for the Beijing Conference.

81. The publication is intended to be aimed more at the "general public" than at statisticians or other experts. Consequently, plans call for it to have a large number of easy-to-understand charts and graphs to help describe similarities and differences in the situation of women and men in countries of the region. The types of subjects to be covered in the publication are expected to include: population size; fertility; life expectancy; contraceptive utilization; abortion; household composition; marriages; divorces and living arrangements; morbidity; mortality; time-use measures; access to day-care facilities; education; economic activity; part-time work; employment by industry; unemployment; wages and earnings; the elderly; positions of influence (Members of Parliament etc.); and criminal offenses (offenders and victims).

C. INNOVATIVE APPROACHES, AND PATHS TO FUTURE PROGRESS

82. Timely and reliable statistics on the situation of women and men are vital to the formulation of policies and programmes for the advancement of women. At present, a great deal of data are available through censuses and surveys but it is imperative that they be presented with a sex break-down that would bring out the differences between women and men, and between different groups of women. Further, to better depict the situation of women as compared to men, it is not just a matter of disaggregation by sex but also one of seeking new kinds of statistics and indicators through new and innovative approaches. The aim is to reflect not just the past imbalance but also to capture new social trends and phenomena in contemporary society. Certain present-day life-styles alter the traditional concept of family and household, and data collection and methodology need to be adapted to these changes. Concepts, definitions, measures and classifications require periodic review and refinement to make them more gender sensitive in providing an objective description of activities and roles of women and men in the economic and social spheres.

83. It is important that the national statistical office in each country of the region give considerable attention to the need for developing a road range of statistics on women and men. All official statistics relating to individuals should be collected and presented by sex and related to gender issues in society. Many possibilities for developing innovative methods could be considered such as:

(a) Developing a common list of topics for concise statistical and analytical national reports on women and men in each country, drawing on the list of proposed indicators for the regional publication, to encourage the preparation of World's Women type of reports at the national level;

(b) Choosing several areas for the more fundamental development of basic statistics and related classifications and methodologies, including time-use (developing a common classification for use in time use surveys), families and households, health, valuation of unpaid work (methodology, case-studies and, eventually, trial regional compilation) and doing innovative work on developing satellite accounts to the national accounts in which attempts are made to quantify the economic contributions made by women and men in the economic life of countries.

84. Special attention also needs to be given (a) to the problems of countries in transition in this field, namely the lack of basic data and tabulations by sex in their basic data collection programmes and (b) to means of encouraging these countries to give the necessary priority to gender statistics in data collection, compilation and dissemination generally. An area that could be particularly valuable for these countries would be to cooperate in the compilation of relatively detailed latest census data on women and men for benchmark reference and analysis in the full range of social and economic fields covered by available censuses, as these fundamental data are only partially available at present.

D. GLOBAL PROGRAMMES

85. The United Nations Statistical Division is currently working on producing an updated version of The World's Women. It will contain a large body of information relating to countries in the ECE region. Information on the current status of work related to the updating of this volume is presented in the annex.

NOTES

1. The TFR figures cited above are from Haug (1993).

2. The countries are the former Czechoslovakia, France, England and Wales, the former Federal Republic of Germany, the former German Democratic Republic, and Hungary.

3. This increase in the mean age was caused by a decline in fertility rates among women aged 15-19 and 20-24, by lagged increases in fertility among women aged 30-34, and in some instances, by increases among women in older age groups.

4. It is important to note that marriage rates stabilized or experienced a small to moderate recovery in some countries in the middle of the 1980s, but they continued to fall in others.

5. The proportions were as follows: 28% in Norway in 1986, 19% in France in 1985, 19% in the Netherlands in 1988 and 12% in Switzerland in 1985.

6. Lesthaeghe and Moors (1993) report the following proportions of women aged 20-24 cohabiting and the number of cases in selected European Community countries:

Country	Per cent cohabiting	Number of cases
Netherlands	23	106
France	24	55
Great Britain	24	68
Former FRG	18	104
Belgium	18	138
Portugal	7	91
Spain	3	136
Ireland	4	54
Italy	2	138

7. The general divorce rate is the number of divorces per thousand married women of all ages per year.

8. The spread of part-time work was made possible by a growing service sector, a sector in which production processes are more compatible with part-time work than those in the primary and secondary sectors.

9. The downward mortality trends have been temporarily reversed in many countries due to the world wars. Also, the declines in fertility have been accentuated by the wars only to be reversed after them, leading in some countries to prolonged post-war increases such as those that occurred after the Second World War in a number of western European countries. The past fluctuations in the vital rates makes population aging in many countries subject to periodic slowdowns, reversals or accelerations.

10. This discussion of population ageing draws on the 1992 revision of population estimates and projections of the United Nations (United Nations, 1993). Although these estimates and projections may differ from more reliable official estimates and projections of different countries, they represent a body of consistent, internationally comparable data that is ideal for this type of analysis.

11. Between 1950 and 2025, the countries projected to experience the greatest percentage point increases in their proportions elderly include Denmark (15.3), Finland (18.7), Greece (19.1), Italy (17.6), Portugal (15.5), Spain (16.5), and the Netherlands (15.2).

12. Age 75 is a policy significant threshold because beyond this age health care needs and long-term care demands increase rapidly (Gonnot 1992, 428).

13. Support is defined broadly and includes emotional, physical, and financial interactions, assistance and exchanges.

14. The sex ratio is defined as the number of males per 100 females. All other things being equal, the closer the value of the sex ratio to 100, the lower the demand for care and support for the elderly from relatives other than spouses. The support ratio is defined as the number of women age 40 to 59, who are the main provider of case and support to the elderly within the family, divided by the number of persons aged 75 and over. The lower the value of this ratio, *ceteris paribus*, the lower the supply of care and support for the elderly from their middle aged daughters.

15. Because the demographic component is difficult to alter, it is the remaining non-demographic 50% of the pension expenditure increase that has been subjected to increasing scrutiny. It is this non-demographic component that may be significantly influenced by altering public policy.

16. Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, and the United Kingdom have mixed systems and Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and Switzerland have an insurance system.

17. Exceptions to this standard retirement age include Denmark, Iceland, and Norway where it is 67 and France and Italy where it is 60.

18. Regular migrants include those persons legally migrating for economic, family reunion, and other personal reasons, but excludes asylum seekers or refugees (i.e., those persons moving as a result of political persecution or war).

19. The receiving countries in question are Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom.

20. The numbers of asylum applications and refugees can not be simply added because some of the refugees are former asylum applicants.

21. This number does not include large numbers of 'foreign born' who had become naturalized. Of these 13 million, 8 million come from outside the EC, and half of these, in turn, originated in north Africa, Turkey and the former Yugoslavia (SOPEMI, 1992).

22. For an introductory overview of important legislative developments and international meetings in late 1992 and early 1993 see (United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, 1993a).

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ANNEX I

PREPARATION BY THE UNITED NATIONS STATISTICAL DIVISION OF THE SECOND ISSUE OF THE WORLD'S WOMEN

1. The United Nations Statistical Division (UNSTAT) is organizing the preparation of the second edition of The World's Women: Trends and Statistics with the collaboration and financial support of the United Nations Children's Fund, the United Nations Population Fund, the United Nations Development Programme, The World Food Programme, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and the Division for the Advancement of Women, the Department of Public Information and the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women. Further technical inputs are provided by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the World Health Organization, the International Labour Organization, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization and the Population Division of the United Nations Secretariat.

2. The second edition will maintain the same basic structure as the first, with an overview and six chapters. The chapters will deal with women and men and families; housing, human settlements and environment; health; education, science and media; women's and men's work; and public life and leadership. In each chapter, some new topics will be introduced, some of the topics presented in the first issue will be discussed more extensively, and some interrelationships and cross references between topics will be presented.

3. Among the new and expanded topics, some will include analysis of specific relevance to the developed regions (Europe, Canada, United States of America, Japan, Australia and New Zealand). More specifically:

(a) Ageing of the population, the elderly and gender (including health, education, living arrangements, economic participation and well-being and income);

(b) Trends in marriage and divorce patterns and new living arrangements (including single parent families and births outside marriage).

4. Among other topics that will be presented for all countries, some will be of particular interest for developed regions including:

patterns and trends in causes of death
political participation
participation in trade unions
time use
unemployment and inadequacy of employment
maternity benefits and protection of workers with family responsibility
violence against women and violations of women's rights.

5. Data are being compiled mainly from international sources, supplemented by research consultancies for specific regions and topics.